1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after The money deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

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Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Cua
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

164 [753] [515] blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water. Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and families. Okinawans

515 511 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high, but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

● 278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

[157] [159] The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu) in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

[413] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterisation using moxusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moxusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moxusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

[386] Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks.

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes.

[465] [825] [298]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion.

[249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth, when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 759 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 759 758 [844] The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

[657]

757 [278] Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[262]

[759]

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and accupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

759 The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however,
757 prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and
[278] prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medi-
278 cine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are par-
[164] ticularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on
[177] Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are
753 admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son
829 might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not al-
[554] ways heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).